1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF 15 East China
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466 than the rate had been in the summer of that year.[44]

Since 1951, as the result of the acceleration of "labor emulation" and Mao Tse-tung's demand that the cost of production be reduced, the Communists have neglected labor safety measures to an astonishing degree and industrial accidents have been increasing. According to statistics released by the labor bureau of the provincial government in Shantung, from January to June 1952, there were 4,392 persons injured or killed in factories and mines in that province.[45] At No. 6 Iron and Steel Factory in Shanghai, 484 persons, of which 109 were seriously injured, were involved in industrial accidents[46] in 1952. After the beginning of the Communists' first Five-Year Plan, labor safety became of less concern. This fact suggests that conditions in factories and mines on the China Mainland must be growing steadily worse.

C. Housing Conditions

362 466 The Chinese Communists assert that they spent more than 286 million yuan (new currency, equaling US$ 114.4 million) on housing projects for workers in 1952. In 1953, the government approved the construction of 130 million square feet of living quarters for workers.[47] The Chinese

44. Chinese Workers' Monthly, Nov. 15, 1950, p. 33.

45. China Weekly, Jan. 19, 1953, pp. 7-8

46. Tientsin Daily, Aug. 8, 1952; China Weekly, Jan. 26, p. 7.

47. People's China, May 1, 1955, pp. 3-5.

362 466 Communists claim that the Central People's Government was the first government in Chinese history to provide housing for workers.

The construction of housing projects for workers in Shanghai began in September 1951. The first housing project, completed in 1952, was Ts-ao-yang Villa[48] on the western edge of the city. The project was comprised of a co-operative store, a clinic, a grade school, a market, and a club. Rent was fixed at approximately 7 per cent of the worker's gross income. Between 1952 and 1954, at least 29 new housing developments, with accommodation for over 100,000 people, are reported to have been completed in Shanghai.

The Communists also planned housing projects for workers in the Huai-nan mining district in Anhwei Province. The Huai-nan coal mine is one of two large industrial enterprises[49] which the Communists intend to develop in the East Region as part of the first Five Year Plan. The housing project was begun in 1952. By the end of 1954, some 1,300 miners and their families had moved into dwelling units. An additional 2,000 units were to have been ready by the end of 1955.[50] Compared with the slums from which these workers came, the new housing developments for workers in Communist China are probably a considerable improvement, but compared with housing projects in Western countries, they would seem meagre and overcrowded.

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48. Liberation Daily, April 28, 1952, p.1; Chinese Youth Enjoys a Happy Life, published by All-China Federation of Democratic Youth, Peking, 1953, p. 13. [See next page for 49, 50.]

2: Murphy G-4 (no date) 1953 AF15 East China AF15

633 Concession," which was, like the originally British and later International Settlement, merely an area which by written agreement with the local Chinese authorities was set apart for the leasing and later for the purchase of land by French nationals. It was largely residential, and was governed by a Municipal Council in the same way and with the same powers as the International Settlement under the Shanghai Municipal Council. The population of both foreign settlements was overwhelmingly Chinese.*

362 361 One peripheral matter may be mentioned here in brief since it is a common difficulty in all great cities and since Shanghai's solution of it has been somewhat unusual. This is the problem of conveniently located space for suburban residential occupance. The development of large-scale manufacturing came relatively late in Shanghai, and was not a primary factor in the city's economy until about the first decade of the twentieth century. Most of the city's industrial area (map 3) has been occupied since that time, and while most of the Chinese industrial workers lived in the area of the factories (many of which were supplied with workers' dormitories on the premises), there was a growing need for conveniently located housing in residential suburbs for higher-income Chinese and foreigners engaged in the expanding economic activity of the city. A combination of circumstances had left such an area near to the city's commercial core only sparsely occupied until about the end of the first world war. This was the major part of the French Settlement, behind its narrow river frontage.

The last and largest addition to the French Settlement was made as late as 1914, and it covers substantially the area which had become residential by the 1920's. The French Settlement had not expanded earlier in this direction for a variety of reasons. In common with their practice in other colonial areas, the French had favored their own nationals in the granting and registering of title deeds to land in their Settlement. (Registry was managed through the French consul.) The choice sites went to French merchants, and most of the other foreigners took their business elsewhere, while the volume of French business alone was not sufficient to produce adequate grounds for territorial expansion. The French Settlement was further

* Wherever Shanghai is named here, it refers to the conurbation as a whole.

2: Murphy G-4 (no date) 1953 AF15 East China AF15

handicapped in its commercial and industrial growth by the very small extent of its frontage on the Whangpoo, on which most of the city's traffic moves, and French access to this waterfront was impeded by the interposition of the old Chinese city, which remained under Chinese control and through which no adequate roads were ever built. Just as important a handicap was the lack of navigable creeks running through the Settlement, since these have remained basic transport arteries in the modern economy of the city and have been important in locating many of its functions. Siccawei Creek (map 3) runs along part of the Settlement's southern border, but leaves it well before it enters the Whangpoo, and it has attracted industry along its southern bank rather than in the French Settlement. Finally, the French area is on the south side of the city, away from the Yangtze and the major industrial development reaching downriver toward Woosung, and upstream from the part of the harbor where ocean ships can dock.

Thus with the new addition in 1914, a relatively unoccupied area, free from industrial nuisances, but near to the center of the city and under the protection of foreign law and administration, was available for residential occupance at about the time when the suburban problem became acute. In addition to providing agreeable space for upper-income housing, it increasingly served as the entertainment center for the city and as a home for Chinese political figures in temporary retirement or for wealthy Chinese criminals who profited from the laxness of the French authorities and the ambiguous legal status of the Settlement. "Frenchtown," as the foreign residents of Shanghai called it, was famous before the war as the home of every variety of legal and illegal entertainment enterprise, as well as of most of the wealthy foreigners and Chinese in Shanghai.

Population Figures

Caution is the rule in the use of any statistics pertaining to China, and Shanghai, despite its measure of foreign control, is not an exception. The overwhelming majority of the city's population has always been Chinese (graphs 1 and 2), and census figures compiled by both the National Government and the Shanghai Municipal Council are admittedly estimates. In addition to the inaccuracy of

3: Hinder G-5 (1933-1942) 1944 AF15 East China AF15

CHAPTER VII

HOUSING

OFFICIALS OF THE Shanghai Municipal Council gave much thought to the question of housing congestion in the Settlement. The Commissioner of Public Works, writing of the situation in 1935, stated:

"The poorest people of this country, through age-long poverty and hardship, have become inured to a condition of living which, in some other countries, would be thought insupportable. Overcrowding, however, is not confined to the poorest classes, nor to habitation . . . and is a vast social and economic problem which can only be solved gradually by the Chinese people. As far as Shanghai is concerned, serious overcrowding is a permanent and widespread condition from Hongkew Park to the Southern Station, and from Lay Road to Avenue Haig. Political disturbances in the past (first in 1861) have often led to an influx of refugees. It is inevitable that at such times new standards of overcrowding are established more or less permanently, and from general observation it would appear that overcrowding had increased in the past decade. Actually it is overcrowding in the first instance that makes high rents possible, and it is because of overcrowding, and the consequent high rents which have been possible with but a trivial addition to the cost of the building . that capitalization of the increased net rentals goes on to the land and creates a high land value that it is difficult to break down."[1]

How true these words were was to be tragically demonstrated in 1937, two years later, when the influx of refugees fleeing from hostilities was to produce worse overcrowding and higher rentals than Shanghai had ever experienced before.

According to the 1935 census figures, there were in that year 1,120,860 Chinese residents in the International Settlement or more than 99½ per cent of the total population. A count of heads for food supply purposes in February 1942 put the figure at 1,800,000, a number considerably less than generally believed. At the turn of the century, when the first count of Chinese population in the Settlement was made, their number had been 345,276. In

[1] Quoted in the *Report of the Housing Committee*, Shanghai Municipal Council, 1937.

3: Hinder G-5 (1933-1942) 1944 AF15 East China AF15

1935 there were 38,915 foreign residents, of more than fifty nationalities. In 1870 at the time of the first census of the foreign population, foreign residents had numbered 1,666, and 6,774 in 1900.

Normally 1940 should have seen the taking of the quinquennial census which had been carried out regularly since the initial years mentioned above. The Council, however, decided to dispense with census-taking in that year. Police, with whose assistance the distribution and collection of census papers were accomplished, were preoccupied in combating serious armed terroristic activities. Moreover, Chinese members of the Shanghai Municipal Police had not completely resumed their former duties in the area of the Settlement north of Soochow Creek, in which Japanese military authorities continued to exercise military functions, and without police help census-taking was not possible. Great congestion persisted in the area south of Soochow Creek, but as a result of the destruction of many dwellings in 1937 during the fighting north of the Creek, the congestion per unit area there was less than formerly. The 1942 count of heads provided none of the usual additional information sought by a Settlement census. Hence it is necessary to rely on 1935 figures.

What was the population density in 1935? The basis of computation was the number of persons per unit area—in this case the number per acre. In the most densely populated police district, the figure was 547 per acre; a figure of more than 300 per acre obtained in nineteen police districts. A non-scientific, but for the average person a revealing, method would be to state the average numbers of persons and families per house, even though the size of the houses might vary.[2] Actually there is a certain uniformity in

[2] COMPARISONS OF CHINESE POPULATION AND HOUSE OCCUPANCY
(at five-yearly periods)

Year	Chinese Population	Chinese Houses	
		Occupied	Unoccupied
1935	1,120,860	74,952	6,967
1930	971,397	72,686	1,509
1925	810,279	65,474	2,357
1920	759,839	60,472	517
1915	620,401	54,083	1,856
1910	488,005	47,703	4,305
1905	452,716	44,316	1,012
1900	345,276	56,902	6,021
1895	240,995	29,851	800
1890	168,129	21,976	1,508
1885	115,170	18,513	3,064
1880	99,198	16,285	1,158

3: Hinder G-5 (1933-1942) 1944 AF15 East China AF15

the type of houses in which Chinese families live in the Shanghai foreign areas so that the "house" unit has some meaning. Of 41,160 houses in which 113,286 families lived in the most congested areas, the modal figure, that holding for the greatest number of families, namely 22,764, was four families to a house. The median figure was 4.6 families. Expressed in terms of persons, the mode was 24 inhabitants per house.

In the summer of 1938, a year after the outbreak of Sino-Japanese hostilities, the manager of a large textile mill requested a study of the living conditions of workers employed in the factory, the majority of whom lived in the usual type of house. It was found that the modal number of families in 60 houses studied was 7.22; the median was 5.81.

Housing developments where the bulk of the Chinese population lives consist of row after row of two-storied houses,[3] the rows separated by alleyways. The so-called "Chinese house" represents a recognised type of building construction in which the frame is made of native Foochow poles or of imported Oregon pine. If Foochow poles are used, the height is limited by the length of the poles, which in general permit two-storey buildings, each floor ten to twelve feet in height. The width of the house is usually eleven to twelve feet, and the depth varies from twenty-four to forty feet. The house itself originally contains a single front room downstairs, and a kitchen behind, with two rooms above. By the construction of horizontal and perpendicular partitions, however, spaces are provided for additional families. A principal tenant rents the house from a landlord, and by sub-divisions produces what Chinese call *pai ke hsiang*—a dovecote, with cubby-holes in each of which a family lives.

The typical Shanghai "Chinese house" is entered from the small courtyard in the front. One steps into the main downstairs room which is often the residence of the principal tenant, who may cut off a narrow passageway to provide the other tenants with access to their own quarters, or may permit his own room to be the passageway. As a rule, he builds a vertical partition toward the back of the room, thus making a second room which lacks a window. This room in turn may have a horizontal partition, creating an upper space, access to which can be obtained half-way up the

[3] In later years three-storied houses have become common.

3: Hinder G-5 (1933-1942) 1944 AF15 East China AF15

342 stairway. This dark loft may be the only home that many a family knows. The kitchen, at the rear of the house, may or may not be used for its original purpose; more likely it is the residence of yet another family, while portable coal-briquette stoves are placed anywhere for cooking purposes. In the same way the upper front room may have both vertical and horizontal partitions, making spaces for other families; and the room above the kitchen will house yet another household. The area for each family is obviously minimal.

511 The alteration of buildings without permit was illegal. Application should be made to the Building Surveyor of the Public Works Department for permission to carry out any building alterations. In practice, however, it was very difficult to detect interior alterations while they were being made. While theoretically the removal of unauthorized structures might be required, and while the Building Surveyor waged a vigilant struggle against such structures, there were certain difficulties in the way of complete enforcement. Not the least of these difficulties was the fact that the earnings of the majority of the Chinese population were insufficient to permit them to rent larger living quarters than they actually occupied. The basic cause of housing congestion was economic. As we have seen, the earnings of a principal wage earner were in general insufficient for the needs of his family, nor did the average total wages earned by all family members meet these needs. Under these circumstances it is obvious that a family will pay as little as possible for rent, and will occupy an unbelievably small space in order to reduce rental expenditure.

633 THE SETTLEMENT WAS by no means complacent in the matter of its bad housing conditions. At the annual meeting of ratepayers in 1936, a British resident proposed the following resolution:

"Whereas the constant growth in the population of this Foreign Settlement has been accompanied by a rapid development of industrialism and many changes in the living conditions of the people: and

"Whereas serious public concern has been manifested over the resultant housing congestion and other unfavourable conditions associated therewith: and

"Whereas no definite steps have been taken toward the examination of the problem with a view to possible measures for preventing its further aggravation,

3: Hinder G-5 (1933-1942) 1944 AF15 East China AF15

"The Shanghai Municipal Council is now requested to appoint a Commission, with wide terms of reference, to investigate the housing situation and to publish a report thereon with such recommendations as the Commission may see fit to make." 633 362

With slight amendment the resolution was adopted.

The Committee, when appointed, set about the examination of the housing question over a wide field. Apart from the general survey, one sub-committee concentrated on the question of the Council's administrative powers and on its building rules, while a second examined the obviously basic economic aspects of the situation.

In its findings the Committee recommended many technical methods which might control building alterations, encourage the erection of new types of dwellings in which a single room designed for the purpose would accommodate a single family, encourage the erection of small buildings to be used solely for industrial purposes, and discourage the future occupation of domestic premises for industrial uses. Specifically it recommended that no further "lofts" be permitted, in this way attempting to reduce the numbers of families which a house could contain. On the economic side, it was suggested that the Council should appoint a committee to consider means for the reduction of rent, and for the improvement of hygiene. Study was requested of such measures as public subsidy of housing schemes, reduced assessment of cheap house property, co-operation with extra-Settlement authorities in housing, improved cheap transportation, and increased wages. One recommendation was made which, in the light of what occurred upon the outbreak of war less than four months after the presentation of the report, seems particularly ironic—"discouragement of excessive population influx."

This report was considered by a special committee of the Council, modified somewhat, and finally adopted by the Council in June 1937. The general banning of lofts was not approved; it was thought preferable that poor families should continue to occupy crowded lofts than that they should be forced onto the street. A recommendation was adopted which set up a standing committee including the Commissioners of Public Works and Health and the Chief of the Industrial Division, to study and report on the eco-

3: Hinder G-5 (1933-1942) 1944 AF15 East China AF15

362 633 nomic and social recommendations. The early onset of hostilities precluded action.

On August 13 fighting broke out, and the city entered a most difficult period from which, down to August 1942, it had not emerged. If a housing problem existed prior to hostilities, it was more serious later. If difficulties were experienced in finding remedies then, they were rendered almost insuperable by the influx of a refugee population which largely remained in the city.

342 362 IT HAS BEEN POINTED out that the provision of housing by owners of large industrial enterprises was frequent.[4] This may take the form of factory dormitories, accommodating single men or women within the factory compound. Or it may be that the management constructs houses of the usual type which are let to workers, often at rates below the rate ruling in the city generally. The Division's view was that dormitories were not desirable, for workers housed in them were in the position of being virtually under the direction of employers both during their working and their leisure hours. Admittedly the physical conditions in some dormitories were better than those within the ability of low-paid workers to obtain in the community; but the freedom which the right to leave the factory at the close of the day represents may not be dearly bought by accepting less good housing outside. Employers took the view that they were conferring a benefit in the provision of housing at cheap rents, but such payment in kind is close to the old evil of "truck." Adequate wages for workers to obtain their own housing are desirable.[5]

633 342 362 Controls over dormitory development were exercised in the first instance through the Building Surveyor, who carefully calculated the per capita air space for the number of beds which it was proposed to install. Through the Industrial and Social Division, progress was made in obtaining the installation of bathroom and laundry accommodations, and more recently of ventilation systems, in

[4] See the discussion of Employment Relations, Chapter V.

[5] In June 1941, one enterprise which housed 330 men in a dormitory on a mill compound and intended to erect a second building to house 300 women workers reversed its policy. It added $10 per month to the wages of all employees, men and women, to help them to find housing elsewhere. It continues to supply hot baths, and provide laundry facilities, activities in the best "welfare" tradition of western countries. A second millowner who had not thought of dormitories in the light of limitation of freedom abandoned extension programmes.

3: Hinder G-5 (1933-1942) 1944 AF15 East China AF15

new dormitories. Provision for rooms for drying workers' clothes by steam, instead of having them hanging damp, depressing and unhygienic in already crowded bedrooms, represented further betterment. Standards were rising. The happiness of workers in dormitories is conditioned also by psychological factors. In an effort to enlist dormitory matrons in the campaign for better conditions of dormitory life, a course of discussions over six weeks was held. Thirty-six women from twenty-six factories came, their interest increasing as the course proceeded. Hygiene in the dormitory, food, provision of recreation and education, and some talks aimed to interest the matrons in achieving harmony and more ordered living were among the subjects discussed. Individual visits were paid to the matrons and they were encouraged to come to the office of the Division for consultation and refreshment in their task.

REFERENCE HAS BEEN made to the high rents which the overcrowding resulting from hostilities produced. Rents in 1942 were almost five times what they had been in 1936. To some actual property owners this figure seemed fantastic. By rulings of the First Special District Chinese Court, rentals of those lessees amenable to the Court were not permitted to be raised by more than twenty per cent, which means that the property owner did not receive more than twenty per cent above his 1936 rate. His costs meantime increased greatly. Charges for water consumed in many cases equalled the rent received. For the purpose of the cost of living index figures, actual "retail" rentals paid by sub-tenants who rent a portion of a house from the principal tenant were considered. The principal tenant, taking advantage of the enormous demand for housing produced by the hostilities, raised the rentals of his sub-tenants on every pretext.

To discover the extent to which principal tenants were exploiting the housing shortage and squeezing the last cent possible from their sub-tenants, a study of the problem was made by Council officials in 1940. A typical situation was found to be as follows. The principal tenant paid his landlord an annual rental of only $960, although investigation of investment, water costs, which the landlord met, and other charges demonstrated that he should, instead, have paid $1,398. In rentals from his sub-tenants, however, he took in $2,004, in addition to the value of the space which he

3: Hinder G-5 (1933-1942) 1944 AF15 East China AF15

511 basis but contrary to usual practice in cases involving infraction of
633 a Byelaw. A judgment of three months' imprisonment was handed
427 down in one case where the accused was charged with taking $20,-
000 key money. When the sale of furniture and fixtures was involved, valuation by the Court's valuers was obtained, on the basis of which a case was instituted if it was found that the sum asked in the transfer of premises was greatly in excess of the value of these items. It will take a considerable period before key money will become recognised as being illegal, and there will always be cases where payments are made secretly. There will always be those ready to pay illegally for what they cannot obtain otherwise. Nevertheless a beginning was made in destroying the value which accrues to the tenant from the mere holding of a tenancy. Related to the question of key money was the provision in the licence to sub-let that not more than one month's rent could be collected in advance. Without such a provision a lump sum payment could be passed off as rental in advance, though monthly rentals would, in fact, also be collected.

362 The licence to sub-let aimed also at improving actual housing
633 conditions. It required that the kitchen in a house might not be sub-let for residential purposes. It provided that passages must be kept free and rear and front entrances available for use at any time. If conditions become such that housing shortage becomes less acute, the instrument of licence could be used further to require improvement in housing conditions. Use of lofts as living accommodation, for example, might ultimately be forbidden.

744 There exists another instrument which might be invoked. A
362 proposal by the Council to prevent overcrowding was approved in the form of a Byelaw by the Ratepayers' Meeting in April 1941. For years its necessity had been admitted, but difficulties in obtaining a quorum of ratepayers had prevented this and other needed reform measures from securing formal approval. It was understood that the Commissioner of Public Health would apply the Byelaw with discretion, at first only in the most flagrant cases, because of the housing shortage.[6] Nevertheless its existence provided an instru-

[6] *Byelaw against overcrowding*: "Every building or any part thereof found to be inhabited in excess of a proportion of one person for every thirty square feet of habitable floor space, or superficial area, and four hundred cubic feet of clean and unobstructed internal air space shall be deemed to be overcrowding, and the householder shall be liable to penalty or fine not exceeding twenty-five dollars."

3: Hinder G-5 (1933-1942) 1944 AF15 East China AF15

ment in urgent cases, and it brought the Settlement into line with municipal administrations elsewhere in that provision existed under which action could be taken.

It is obvious that an overcrowding such as has been described cannot mean adequate life for those who must submit to it. Tuberculosis incidence rose sharply in Shanghai in the years following 1937 when congestion was so great. Many virulent diseases such as smallpox, cholera, and in recent years typhus, are endemic and their spread, despite the prophylactic efforts of public health authorities in encouraging vaccination and inoculation, was obviously assisted by crowded conditions. Moreover, the chapter on food and nutrition will show a corollary of housing congestion, when even the kitchen in houses which are inhabited by many families is often sub-let, is that there are no proper facilities for cooking. Food therefore cooked in small foodshops or by itinerant vendors forms the basis of the meals of many families. Proper nutrition is impossible under such circumstances. Again, most alleyway houses have been built without sanitary accommodation. Every family must then have its wooden bucket in the room which is its only living room. Public toilets are insufficient for the people's needs and there is consequently frequent befouling of the alleyways. The wonder is that under such housing there exists in Shanghai a self-respecting fine population, maintaining a personal cleanliness almost incredible to believe in the ruling circumstances. For them surely a better housing opportunity must be presented after hostilities have ended.

THE SHANGHAI OF THE future will not be the divided authority it has been in the past. The two former foreign-administered areas will presumably come under the general authority of the Chinese City Government following the retrocession of the Settlement to Chinese administration by Great Britain and the United States. The development of proper transportation systems connecting the Settlement and Concession with the surrounding areas previously under the City Government must be an early consideration. They will open up areas for residence unavailable till the present because of their inaccessibility by cheap means of transport. The Shanghai of the future will, too, it is hoped, be planned on modern lines, where adequate authority will permit proper controls over